



ENTER PLATO

Classical Greece and the Origins of Social Theory
ALVIN W. GOULDNER

"We have very little to tell our students about developments in ancient society which bears comparison with Weber's or Troeltsch's work on the sociology of religion. One can only applaud the latest venture of one of America's leading industrial sociologists and theorists."—JOHN REX, *New Society*.

at length the ways in which film and television are new forms expressing a new sensibility, and doing so in defiance of all traditional means. A by-product of this process is that they have also sapped the confidence of the older arts. Pop and art may be answers to this crisis of nerve: not only attempts to create iconographies for the technological superstates but also ways of changing the artist's role. The pop artist functions as an aesthetic technician or crypto-scientist, while the pop painter simply chooses among the products of urban society. Since his final standard of excellence is solely that of taste—in his choice of images and handling of paint, &c.—he is reduced to the status of a high-level interior decorator.

Similarly, the pop movement in poetry is more than a reaction against a dead or dying formalism; it is also prompted by the new attitude towards language implicit in cinema and television. McLuhan calls cinema "a form of statement without language"; that is, words and arguments are merely one means among several of nudging the audience in a certain direction. The more literary a script, the less effective it is as cinema. Yet, at the same time, the cinema also communicates more widely and compulsively than any other art form. This spectacle of pop culture effortlessly usurping the

function of high culture. I suspect, behind the fashion for the diluted near-verse designed for mass readings and poetry-and-jazz concerts. With few exceptions, the writing on these occasions is rudimentary. It may well not be rudimentary enough. The lesson to be learned from film and T.V. is that language can function in a different way and with utterly different disciplines once it merges with other forms of communication. But the pop poets do nothing more radical than model their verse on the lyrics of pop songs. Which means that they remain tied to the logic of a traditional form at its weirdest. Their aim is not to innovate but to popularize, to seduce an audience which is interested in poetry simply as an assertion of illiberal non-conformity. In its way, this is a largely political project: art is valuable simply as a means of rejecting the square world. So the poet resigns his responsibilities; he becomes less concerned to create a work than to create a public life; what he offers is not poetry but instant protest. Where the pop painter becomes an interior decorator, the pop poet becomes a kind of unacknowledged social worker.

"The trouble with modern theories of behaviourism", Hannah Arendt once wrote, "is not that they are wrong but that they could become true." This applies also to Marshall

McLuhan's theories of a media. If he is right, the formal arts are no longer meaningful and the danger of being "electronic culture" is imminent. This first volume of Lord Russell's *Autobiography* is a handsomely produced and substantial in size and acquired only slowly with a noble photograph of its author. Suddenly, an author and subject on the front of the book no longer seem to be a jacket. It turns out, perhaps, to survive and communicate a little less than it promises. May have to abandon his place more than half of his training, even his habits contents is taken up, in the Victorian and start again from the Jordan way, with letters and some grants. This always happens to memoirs and the majority there is a fund of letters to Russell rather than in the arts; that is why him. Secondly, the 105 pages of genuinely new material proper prove to contain a good revised. But this is a deal of material that has already been question is something unpublished in his *Portraits from Memory* and thoroughgoing the story; the admirable if rather stiff set of speaking or seeing; glimpses about his famous friends, styles of architecture, &c. Whitehead, Conrad, the Webbs and heart", seem newer, more so on.

And less hopeful than this. For all that, there is plenty of rich expected. In the face of the material here and it is all in Russell's ing transformation, the familiar style. There are none of those style is the most courageous. It may, after all, have been a sign of the prognosis of a nuclear war, those students have claimed to detect than with the relatively safe letters to the press that have standing of the fact that recently appeared over Russell's signa- tional basis of the arts. His disconcerting abrupt Given a situation so preoccupied about subjects it is usual to ternal confusion transmutated in a somewhat muffled way kinds of artistic order frequently in evidence. For example: most possible form of order.

expert in the art of matrimonial success. People of good manners can often manage to get on in the same house, once they have agreed to differ. In the meantime we can only regret the annoyance any such arrangement causes, and the break up of a union which seemed to promise well at the beginning. The second is from Jane Harrison and has a wonderfully gruff and tweedy ring. May I say just this? You have always stood by me for goodness and sweetness—I shall always think of you—until you tell me not—as doing the straight hard thing.

But best of all are the letters from the elderly female relations by whom Russell was brought up. The suspicion that they were really written by Mr. L. P. Hartley can be kept at bay only by noticing a certain lack of aesthetic discretion that they exhibit.

And for you my too dear boy, I can only try to hope, though the way is not easy to find. Have you called on the people to whom the Barrow gave you letters? writes Granny Russell. His impending marriage calls forth this: "My voice fails me whenever I try to speak of what is coming, although it is an event so full of happiness to you."

And again: By the bye you have not yet said a word to Annie about her little birthday letter. She has not said so, and she told me a few times, but she was so ill she was unable to write them. Auntie Emily carries some quite heavy burdens.

I was so very, very sorry to hear that you were not at Doris's funeral this former governor. I felt quite sure you would be present and can only think that something very definite must have prevented you. Russell has already told the story of his intellectual development more than once. In this volume the focus of interest is the more personal aspects of his life, and his thinking enters the picture only through its emotional repercussions. Anyone who has so

much as turned the pages of *Principia Mathematica* will read without surprise but with sympathy of the protracted anguish of its composition. In May, 1902 he finished his brilliant prose exposition of his ideas about logic and mathematics, the 200,000-word long *Principles of Mathematics*. For the next eight years, often working ten or twelve hours a day, he toiled at the strictly formal and deductive presentation of his doctrine. Throughout this time he was living in the country with his wife Alice. It is not surprising that their marriage

should have broken down, all the more since, as he tells us, it was sexually defunct by 1901. *Principia Mathematica* cost Russell eight years of intense suffering and, as a final irony, £50 with which he had to subsidize its publication. At least all this was not in vain. The implied comparison in its title with Newton's great work has been vindicated.

One fact that emerges from these memoirs is perhaps not generally recognized. He was at Cambridge from 1890 until his marriage in 1894. Although he regularly visited Cambridge after that time it was not until October, 1910, on appointment to a lectureship at Trinity, that he became a resident fellow. Russell, in fact, has never really been an academic. He is the last of that great sequence of British empiricist philosophers, which contains also Locke, Hume and Mill, who practised their art as independent men of letters. This fact is highly congruous with the excellence of his prose and, more widely, with the heroic breadth of his interests and human sympathies.

WHITE HOUSE DARK HORSE

CHARLES SELLS: *James K. Polk*. Vol. II. Continentalist, 1843-1846. 513pp. Princeton University Press. £5.

The second volume of Professor Sells's admirable life of Polk has all the merits of the first and more general interest. The "basket of crabs" politics of Tennessee do not interest everyone and the illustrations of how hard a fight the disciples of Jackson had in the home state of "the Hero", although essential to understanding both the victory of Polk and the necessary preliminary, the ostracism of Van Buren, again lack general appeal. But the detailed story of how the repudiated and unpopular politician, unsuccessful champion of an embattled party, became President is of fascinating novelty. Novelty, for the accidents and plots that led to the nomination of the first dark horse in American presidential politics have never been told in such effective and intelligent detail.

But it is not only as a dark horse that the career of Polk is important. No one would claim that he was one of the great presidents. Some would claim that, in the single term to which he deliberately limited himself, he was the most effective president. He carried out, with almost complete success, an elaborate programme in foreign and domes-

concerned with the President's morals than with the harm in the not very long run, Polk's deviousness did to the Democratic party and the United States. This volume ends with the shadow cast by the Wilcox Provision—which was the shadow of a greater war than the armed take-over bid we call the "Mexican War".

The real villain, if there is one, is Calhoun, who appears in a very different light from the stern and unbending doctrine of Southern legend. Benton appears as his old, magnificent self and Winfield Scott as one of the most outrageously incompetent candidates in American history, recalling Leonard Wood rather than Douglas MacArthur. There is some magnificent spread-eagle oratory and we have old John Quincy Adams justifying "manifest destiny" in terms that, a generation later, would have alarmed the heirs of the Forty-Niners if they had been advanced by the theatrical Chinese. John Wilcox Croker would have exploded at having the "Whig" organ, and although Jefferson Davis had left the Army to become a planter, he was hardly an amateur or political soldier—he was a West Point alumnus and had been a serving regular officer.

AMERICAN MUSICIAN IN PARIS

VIRGIL THOMSON: *Virgil Thomson*. 448pp. Weidenfeld and Nicolson. £3 3s.

The final reputation of Mr. Virgil Thomson must stand or falter, of course, on the score of his merits as a composer. The effect of his autobiography is to establish his right to be considered also as an unusually gifted writer. He tells us that he has "no gift for imaginative writing", that he cannot "assemble my pictures and my people into situations where they take on memorability, which is what story-tellers do". That this estimate is far too modest may be brusquely demonstrated by a couple of sentences such as these, introducing a chapter which not only faithfully describes but also embodies his infectious persuasive love of the flavour of France:

In all the showy living that went on throughout the twenties, the Americans, though not the biggest spenders there, that to the Indian princes, were certainly in France the most numerous. Wherever there were Ritzes and races, champagne night clubs and gambling casinos, they made up the bulk of the trade, seasoned with a dollop of bejeweled Argentines, a few well-dressed and amorous Brazilians, some impressively casual English and Scots (terrifying gamblers these last), and two or three vastly visible maharajahs.

If Mr. Thomson talks as vigorously as he writes, it is small wonder that Sir Thomas Beecham said of him: "Virgil is the only man in the world who can keep me up till four." It is curious how a basic modesty of self-estimation seems to survive this lengthy recapitulation of a life which Mr. Thomson himself, in tune with all his professional enemies and most of his personal friends, insists repeatedly on describing as impish and arrogant. It is true that by the end of the book one has a fair notion of the area, so to say, covered by the author's personality; yet this area is not so much drawn in as omitted; its outline being made up by the companionable edges of all the many portraits of people and places which surround it. This deflation by omission holds true even of the splendid gallery of snapshots by which this delightful memoir is enriched. The Kansas City relations who people the earlier illustrations, to say nothing of the Gertrude Steins and James Joyce and John Cages who peer from the later pages, all look more interesting than the author himself who sometimes appears to the corner or perched on the arm of a sofa full of notabilities, looking sometimes "impish" but always comparatively ordinary. The round mild face of this aggressive musical partisan, and busily-productive artist seems, somehow, to smile straight from his prose—and the effect is all gain. It tempers the acerbity of some pretty sharp assessments and it makes into a rueful "back-to-the-old-drawing-board" sign certain passages describing the reception or non-performance of his own works which

might otherwise have had a note of self-pity. For all his Francophile ennuies and Middle West trenchancy, Mr. Thomson persuades the reader that his bark was probably worse than his bite.

This book will certainly be scrutinized by musically-minded readers who wish to discover how the influential critic of the *New York Herald Tribune* (for a fourteen-year stint) came to shape his views. It will provide a generous quarry for students in search of such varied thesis-fodder as the early developments of film music, the perils faced by those Americans who struck out, between the wars, against the tide set by Boston-based pundits, or the degree to which a "native son", pleurably besotted by the wine of French culture at its most potent, can nevertheless cling so faithfully to a boyhood idiom that in Paris rovin' of Mr. Thomson's opera *Four Saints in Three Acts* could be described by its "most perspicacious" critic (Marcel Schneider) as a "Sunday schneil entertainment", or "camped-up Muss... no trace of implicity or sacrilege". But it would be a great pity if only musical specialists were in quest to Mr. Thomson's pages, for the most attractive quality of his book is its ability to convey the thoroughly independent responses of one stubbornly non-joining individualist to those delectable decades when a few Francophile Americans, and lionized Frenchmen could merrily pretend that the rest of the world did not exist.

For the Virgil Thomson who emerges from these lively elegant

chapters is not only a competent arbiter of musical taste but more intimate aspects of his sexual agonies inspired by his life. Although one might have pre- tivated American who felt. Boston, even still, no deferred much of the space given over the inhabitants seem to letters to have been occupied with at compressing one and more of Russell's recollections. passionate pilgrim who especially twenty rather dull pages of "that I lived in Paris" communications from him to Lucy minded me of Kansas G. Donnelly, a girl who makes no unobnoxious intellectual appearance in the narrative proper, siders the language of the letters have their points. Two Racine at its most laudatory comments on the collapse of his marriage. French of King's College to Alys Pearsall Smith deserve eulogies"; a swashbuckler mention. The first is from Russell's who can say of modern elder brother Frank, not exactly an that "the Germans seemed lone-deaf, and as for the re- "—a systematic and both intriguing revelations of merits and non-payments and capricious whimsies; an effort to go on blinding out a thinks to be the truth but has assumed a posture for sneered-cow nothings might be expected; a self-styled god his more generous lights re- lie to circulate the light-relatives of a dragonfly.

There can be few more ever guides to the Paris of Gertrude and Mr. Thomson proves in chapters that his very best he himself modestly implied. Inspired, he brought the front of him from, of all places, France. And in these days of France can be an engagement, one can enmit the look of interest of English displayed by a dog- tee—for all his apparent lack of political issues—of the American Revolution.

SWEDISH SINGER IN ENGLAND

The Lost Letters of Jenny Lind. Translated from the Danish, edited with commentary by W. Porter Ware and Lockard, Jr. 199pp. Gollancz. 28s.

Some ten years ago a new biography of Jenny Lind by Joan Blumman revealed the extraordinary mixture of qualities that enabled a fundamentally simple woman to have a fabulous career as a singer. The picture of the Swedish girl who married a German and settled in England, of the dramatic artist who so bated the theatre that she gave up the career of a primo donna and took to oratorio and charity concerts, is confirmed to this collection of letters to a single correspondent. In Berlin, Frau Wihmann: the domestic details of her married life are filled out in the reports of her later life in one who had befriended her in her earlier years. They have been translated from the German by the editors, who do not say where or how they discovered these "lost" letters—which recently turned up in England it is as far as they go in

revealing how they saw them, though they are Otto Goldschmidt, Jenny's husband, who, cooped up her official biographer, her death in 1887, and seen them, since her husband died in 1876. There seems to doubt their authenticity psychologically they are pieces. Indeed their pieces are in the reflection of the artist, changing to the mother—she was convinced would never survive the first child—but the relationship acquaintances (e.g. the Schumanns), the friends and travels, and the her religious beliefs, the est of *Apollonia*, a ver- already known facts about the editors provide a graphy as context for

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1. _____ _____

AKAMBA, YORUBA, SWAHILI

S. A. BABALOLA: *The Content and Form of Yoruba Ifalu*. 395pp. £3 10s. JOHN S. MBITI: *Akamba Stories*. 240pp. £2 5s. OXFORD LIBRARY OF AFRICAN LITERATURE. Clarendon Press: Oxford University Press.

AHMAD NASSIR BIN JUMA BHALO: *Poems from Kenya*. Translated and edited by Lyndon Harries. 244pp. University of Wisconsin Press (American University Publishers Group). 37s. 6d.

The editors of the Oxford Library of African Literature hope that "compositions in local languages will make their impact on world literature as those of India and China have done for many years". It is not likely that this series—nine volumes have so far appeared—will make much impact on the literary world. The O.L.A.L. is a series that combines scholarly essays with almost unreadable translations. *Poems from Kenya*, published by the University of Wisconsin, can safely be discussed with the Oxford volumes—because it is produced in the same spirit. The three volumes deal with widely different subjects and languages: John S. Mbiti's book is a collection of folktales from the Akamba people of Kenya. S. A. Babalola introduces a special type of poetry, sung or chanted by the Yoruba hunters of western Nigeria; Lyndon Harries presents a contemporary Swahili poet: Ahmad Nassir bin Juma Bhalo.

All three volumes have good and useful introductions. Lyndon Harries gives us a fascinating account of modern Swahili poetry, and in particular of the rivalry between poets, their methods of competing with each other and their ways of praising themselves ("God has given me my measure of talent . . . for me to embellish it without effort") and of abusing their opponents ("though you talk nonsense/don't do what is meaningless/these things are not proper for a man . . .").

S. A. Babalola supplies a very scholarly introduction to a highly specialized field of study. He does bring Ogua, the Yoruba god of hunters, to life and informs us about his festivals during which the *Ifalu*, the hunters' poetry, are sung. He gives us a close study of the language of these poems which is so far unique in the study of Yoruba.

Mr. Mbiti's introduction is much

more amateurish, but it does give us useful background information on this little-known Kenyan tribe, the Akamba.

The texts themselves are much less enjoyable. Mr. Mbiti's volume comes off best in a way. It is a collection of simple folktales, rendered in straightforward English. The stories themselves deal with family life, with kings and spirits, travel and adventures. They are about wise and foolish people, and virtue usually triumphs as it should. The mythological element is almost entirely missing in this selection and we lack the humour, the imagery and inventiveness that is so marked in some other collections of African stories. The greatest fault lies in the telling. Mr. Mbiti himself explains that "More important than anything else in good story telling is to make the story personal". But this is precisely what he fails to do. His language is dry and somehow non-committal. It may be that other writers have put too much of their own personality into their African stories, but even Birago Diop's over-ornate and romanticized version of the *Tales of Amadou Koumba* is more acceptable than this dehydrated volume.

The trouble with *Poems from Kenya* is that the translator had obviously very poor material to start with. These contemporary Swahili poems can classify as rhetoric, but hardly as poetry. The "poet" is full of advice on matters like patience, modesty, faith, love and the night of God. "I speak to you, my friends, in the language of admonition," he says, and "I give counsel to my brethren, both the fools and the clever ones." Unfortunately his counsel is unbearably platitudinous:

A gentleman is discreet though to others he is unclean
he hides his reproach he does not accuse the passer by,
patience is the best praise to Almighty God
when a moon is striped and does not rise up.

Some fifty poems in this vein are rather more than the most patient reader can digest. Something is lost of course in translation. One poem begins, in Swahili, "Kikari kucha kochile". This beautiful, dense combination of sounds becomes watered down into the grotesque "Cock-a-doodle-du, the dawn has come". The translator can hardly do justice to the sound effects of a language that uses seven sonorous vowels instead of the numerous glides, diphthongs and indefinite vowel sounds of English. But then—if the poems contain no images, or ideas that could survive translation and would make the effort worth while—why bother to translate them at all? Surely not everything is interesting, merely because it comes from Africa. Even Africans write bad poetry, even black people can utter platitudes. Lyndon Harries knows this himself. Presumably that is why he used a quotation from William Hazlitt as the book's motto:

An orator can hardly go beyond commonplaces.

If he does, he gets beyond his hearers.

S. A. Babalola had much more interesting material to work with. Even in this stilted translation some of the imagery survives. The world of the forest animals comes beautifully alive in these hunters' poems. The bushy tail of the Colobus monkey is compared to "the wind that sweeps the sky clean". The buffalo rumbles like rain, the female

baboon's breasts "are kept busy" and the elephant "leaves near like a garment and hangs him up in a tree".

Much is clearly untranslatable, as a brief glance at the astonishing original text reveals. In Yoruba it is possible to telescope a series of words or phrases into one long tongue-twisting unit. "Fun-abikunlepele-momo" thus becomes "The elephant huge as a hill even in a crouching posture" in Mr. Babalola's English version. Nobody could expect the translator to equal or even approach the magnificent "adikunlepele-momo". But surely there was no need to be as clumsy as "crouching posture"? Mr. Babalola revels in stilted and bombastic English. The bare-bonned baboon becomes "the pussycat of a hair denoted posterior". The buffalo rumbles like rain but "produces no precipitation". The wild bear receives "self-prostration homage from the hunter". True, Mr. Babalola is a Yoruba scholar and English is not his own language—but what were the editors of the Oxford Library of African Literature doing to allow this to pass? To make African literature come alive in English is a formidable task. But it can be done, as was proved by the Ugandan poet Okot p'Bitek, whose brilliant translation of his own original Acholi poem *Song of Lawino* was reviewed in the *TLS* of February 16.

SECOND CROP

African Writing Today. Edited by Ezekiel Mphahlele. 347pp. Penguin. 7s. 6d.

In a field where the number of anthologies threatens to outstrip the output of original works, where the same stories and poems tend to crop up again and again, and where collection of texts is too often offered as a substitute for critical evaluation, the appearance of a new anthology seems to present a suitable occasion for demanding the purpose of it all.

What kind of material, in the first place, is suitable for anthologizing? Uprooted extracts from novels or plays can probably only be justified where the work itself is unobtainable, being either out of print or untranslated. Mr. Mphahlele's anthology opens with a section on Nigeria, the richest literary territory in Africa on present form, which consists of four extracts from novels or plays, all of which are currently available in paperback or hardback, plus one poem which is already included in an existing Penguin anthology and one original short story, even that a poor one. An exercise of this kind performs no service either for Nigerian literature or for the reader. The task of the anthologist must surely be either to select from a large body of existing material, giving it shape by the very criteria he adopts, or to make available work which is either unknown or not currently available in convenient form.

Fortunately Mr. Mphahlele is able to perform rather better in these respects in some of his later sections. The tendency to select from novels diminishes, if only because the sources themselves become scanty once we leave Nigeria. And there are a few real finds. The young Mozambique writer, Luis Bernardo Honwana, who has already attracted attention with earlier stories, is represented here by one of typical restrained power and delicacy. Here, as in all of Honwana's writing, the landscape itself is so tangibly evoked that it becomes a presence and an actor in the story. The long weary day of the plantation labourers flares briefly into drama when the Portuguese overseer deliberately takes the daughter of one of them into the orchard, to rape her under her father's eyes. To humiliate both of them, the summit of his squalid ambition, is far more his motive than lust itself. Here the murmuring orchard which surrounds the painful violence of the act also penetrates it, becomes a part of it and roars to the silent watchers.

To the green twilight of the depths of the field, the pallid skin of the Overseer warms like a green flame.

Along the path she had to raise her arms now and again to defend herself from the waves that the Overseer's passage provoked.

Senhor Honwana's compassion places his people in the embrace of a tragic land, cruel and inflexible with life. At the other end of Africa, Ama Ato Aidon of Ghana discovers here by feeling for the thread of her speech as it strives to catch hold of meaning in the dark stream of events. A grandmother receives a telegram from a distant town; Cape Coast. It says tersely that her grand-daughter has been out open so that her baby may be removed. We follow the current of her anguish as she moves about the dusty street of her village, the message open in her hand:

"Eno, and what calls at this hour of the day?"

"They want me at Cape Coast."

"Does my friend want to go and see how much Ogua has changed since we went there to meet the new Wesleyan Chairman twenty years ago?"

"My sister do you think I have knees to go parading on the streets of Cape Coast?"

"Is it heavy?"

"Yes, very heavy indeed. They have opened up my grandchild at the hospital. hi, hi, hi."

"Eno, due, due, due . . . I did not know. May God go with you."

"Thank you Yon."

The exclamations from Fanti speech help to recreate the rhythm of the scene as the minds of the two old women stumble towards truth. In fact the girl is well, but many difficult miles separate them from this knowledge. The whole story is told in dialogue that drifts, exclams and starts again on its journey. Mr. Mphahlele's anthology has, far too few, discoveries of this quality to offer. But even a handful of them, assisted by John Sewell's brilliant cover, will make it, after all, worth the ordinary reader's while.

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Religious Books

PAPISTS TODAY

GEORGE SCOTT: *The R.C.s. A Report on Roman Catholics in Britain Today*. 292pp. Hutchinson. 35s.

After the raising of lids by the Vatican Council, Mr. Scott has taken a rather severely critical look at the Roman Catholic Church in England. He has examined its political influence and the powers it can bring to bear. He has gone to its institutions—Stonyhurst, Ampleforth, Ushaw and Heythrop College. He quotes freely from his interviews with the church's leading men.

But this is far from being a detached descriptive survey. Mr. Scott has strong views on how Roman Catholics ought to think and behave, views coloured by his own Liberalism—he has fought three by-elections. His chief score against them would appear to be that they are "different". He noticed this as a boy in Middlesex. It ranks through his book. He declares, for instance,

"I do feel the perpetuation of the 'difference' between Catholics and the rest of us, which is an inevitable product of the maintenance of separate Catholic schools, is socially dangerous and wholly undesirable."

Some will feel that a dislike of "differences", as spilling the even surface of a uniform, conformist society, is far more dangerous and that a Liberal should be the last to confess to it. But it is surely to have misunderstood the nature and history of the Roman Church to expect its members to be ordinary good fellows like the rest of us today. The modern world is agnostic in temper and even some Christians will make a virtue of their agnosticism. The Roman Church, however, has so far made no concessions to doubt and maintains undiluted the stupendous claims of Christianity.

Asked in a television interview whether he had doubts, Cardinal Heenan replied that what doubts he had were so long ago that he had forgotten what they were. "This reply," which exactly catches the distinctive stance of the Roman faith, Mr. Scott found shocking. Many people, Christians among them,

would hedge their bets on the virgin birth, the miracles and the resurrection. But the whole system of the Roman Church is based on their literal and historical truth, and on the implications of that truth. If one takes one's stand on eternity rather than on time, if one allows God's right to demand all, then one is not perhaps nobler or more moral than one's agnostic fellows, but one is certainly "different". It makes it easy for Cardinal Heenan to justify the celibacy of the clergy, a matter disconcerting to Mr. Scott:

If I were a married man I would first have to consider my wife and children, before anything. A man's first duty is to his own family. We have only one duty and that is to God and the Church.

Mr. Scott has talked to many Catholic bishops and priests in the course of his survey. It is he who tells the story of Don Paul Nevill of Ampleforth who, when the chairman of the Headmasters' Conference opened the question "What are we trying to do for our boys?", got up and said "I think we are preparing our boys for death". The difference

between the Roman Catholic and any Christian who accepts fully the gospels and the creeds and the ordinary man of the modern world is profound. In protesting that the Roman Catholic should be on all fours with the fashionable lay public of these times, Mr. Scott seems to have failed to grasp that their religion is about. "Here we have an abiding city." "After death, the judgment." These deeply engrained Christian attitudes are entirely irreconcilable with the prevailing outlook which sets life here in the centre of the picture. Of course there is a "difference". The Church knows that its work lies in this world, that it is seeking to pursue God's will for the world which he created. But ecumenism and dialogue do not amount to a merger with the world. "If we were of the world, the world would love us; but because we are not of the world, therefore the world hates you." The "difference" which frets Mr. Scott so much has the most august of antecedents.

PAPISTS YESTERDAY

PATRICK HUGHES: *A Short History of the Catholic Church*. With a final chapter (1939-1965) by E. E. Y. Hiles. 308pp. Burns and Oates. 8s. 6d.

Philip Hughes's *Popular History of the Catholic Church* has gone through six editions and has long established itself as a marvel of scholarly compression. A new and slightly re-written edition has a final chapter on the Church from 1939 to 1965 by E. E. Y. Hiles. He is perhaps too benign in interpreting the silence of the Church on the persecution of the Jews, and is wrong to suppose that the only Orthodox observers at the Second Vatican Council were two clerics whom he insultingly describes as "schismatics from Moscow". His treatment of Pope John and his Council is judicious

if not always accurate. But he gives a wholly wrong impression when he says that the text of the Council's declaration on the Jews was included in the Constitution on the Church (which he repeatedly calls *De Ecclesia*); he should know that its Latin title is *Lumen Gentium*. It was in fact made part of the Declaration on the Relationship of the Church to Non-Christian Religions. And since his chapter is full of theological questions of consequence, it would have benefited from the scrutiny of a theologian who might have eliminated some of its wrong emphases.

SUNNI SAINTS AND SHIAH SAINTS

ROBERT MULLEN: *The Morans*. 316pp. W. H. Allen. 30s.

Christian Science and Mormonism are the two most original American varieties of traditional North European Protestantism. They are very American in that both deny the truth of the old Puritan verse:

In Adam's Fall

Christian Science not only denies the fall, but denies also the existence of all that the brigand apple brought; and the Mormons deny that God ignored the American continent and concentrated his direct divine intervention on the Mediterranean world.

Each of these prosperous denominations defines modern academic theology. "Science" for a Christian Scientist is not what it is for a Fellow of the Royal Society, and the Mormon Church, defending the divine authenticity of the Book of Mormon, runs into very serious difficulties in the age of the Qumran scrolls and the Jerusalem Bible. Roma may make concessions, but Boston and Salt Lake City will not.

For most non-Americans, the Mormons are much more interesting than the Scientists. Joseph Smith was a more attractive figure than Mr. Eddy, and the Mormons cover a much wider range of human experience than do the Scientists. But both Boston and Salt Lake City react the same way to serious studies of their history.

Mr. Mullen's book is an example of a fellow-traveller's history of the Church of Latter-Day Saints. Mr. Mullen grew up in Utah, according to his own account in a Gentle family in Utah at that time, but he seems to have had very little knowledge of the Saints until he started writing this book. For example, he was surprised to discover that the Mormons have long been expanding into the states round Deseret (which the Gentiles call Utah) and had moved north as far as Canada. The most interesting, perhaps the only interesting, thing in this book is Mr. Mullen's account of modern Mormon missionary success. Some of that success occurs in Latin America, where the Seventh Day Adventists

also are successfully tilling the fields while for the harvest neglected by the official Catholic harvesters. Some of it is in Europe, and the renewed appeal of Mormonism may be something like the renewed appeal of Evangelicalism in the Church of England, although there is no intention here of comparing Kingston with either Boston or Salt Lake City. And since Mr. Mullen mentions the Mormon mission to Marseille, this reviewer can testify that the two somewhat barren fields of the Canebère in the summer of 1966 spoke excellent French.

Apart from his account of the modern expansion of the Church, Mr. Mullen's book is highly disingenuous. Its non-scholarly character is sufficiently illustrated by the bibliography, which describes Mrs. Brodie's *No Man Knows My Story* as "the popular account of Joseph Smith", and prefers the more unscholarly *Kingdom of the Saints* by Ray B. West Jr. Mrs. Brodie's book is of the highest scholarly merit, although this scholarship results in her being forced to point out how unfortunate Joseph Smith was in not knowing of the discovery of the Rosetta Stone before he announced he had mastered ancient Egyptian. One looks in vain in the bibliography for such eminently relevant commentaries on Mormonism as Professor O'Dea and Professor Kimball Young, whose full name is Heber Kimball Young, whose full name is a genealogical asset that few Mormons can equal. Professor O'Dea is a Catholic, and Professor Young, like Mrs. Brodie, a lapsed Mormon. It is perhaps even more significant that Mr. Mullen does not quote and presumably does not know of that most admirable book by Dr. Taylor, *Especially for the Latter-day Saints*, a work in which Mr. Mullen's book is devoted to a very amateurish and credulous account of early Mormon missionary work in Britain.

Some of the examples of Mr. Mullen's disingenuousness may be noted. In the account of Nauvoo, of which an excellent Mormon history by Dr. R. B. Flinders has recently been published (reviewed in this journal on February 10, 1966),

there is no mention of the fact that most of the sacred shrines of Nauvoo are in the hands of the Recognized Church of Latter-day Saints which represents the senior line of the Smith family of Mrs. Joseph Smith and her eldest son, who both denied that the Prophet had preached or practised polygamy. The headquarters of this church is in the Mormon Zion, Independence, Missouri, now best known as the home of Mr. Truman. But the sacred shrines of the church in Nauvoo are, all but one, the property of the Reorganized Church. If we accept Professor Edward Meyer's parallel between the history of Islam and the history of the Saints, elaborated in his brilliant paragon, *Geschichte der Mormonen*, the Salt Lake City Mormons are the Sunnis and the Independence Mormons are the Shi'ahs. In Nauvoo today, the Sunni Saints are marching in, and there may be, *inadvertently*, a version of the rivalry between Christian sects at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, especially if the Sunnis rebuild the great temple at Nauvoo whose foundations at present stand under the shadow of an extremely smart Catholic girls' boarding school.

Another omission which reveals either Mr. Mullen's inability to understand Mormon doctrine or his unwillingness to stir up trouble, is his refusal to discuss, seriously, the renunciation of plural marriage made by the Church after the passage of the Edmunds Act. This presents a very serious difficulty for any Mormon historian, since the renunciation of plural marriage was not a mere sociological adjustment, but a renunciation of a basic part of the divine economy according to the preaching of Joseph Smith. Not all Mormons accepted this renunciation and the parents of the most prominent candidate for the Republican nomination in 1968, Governor Romney of Michigan, took refuge in Mexico rather than surrender an important doctrine of the faith "once delivered in the Saints".

There are a good many mistakes in spelling which may irritate the pedantic, and the best one can say for this book is that it is harmless.

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BUDDHA TAKES A TRIP

PHILIP KAPLEAU: *The Three Pillars of Zen*. Teaching, Practice, and Enlightenment. Foreword by Huston Smith. 363pp. New York: Harper and Row. £2 10s.

HUGO M. ENOMIYA: *Zen-Buddhism*. 450pp. Cologne: J. P. Bachem.

Popularization is an art just as much as is translation—more difficult, perhaps, since it requires a greater range of talents, including the ability to sift the wheat from the chaff. Hitherto Zen Buddhism has not been fortunate in its popularizers: they have not only tended to concentrate on the sensational but have also tried to present Zen as a religion without God and as an easy way to achieve what R. M. Bucke called "cosmic consciousness". In California the whole thing got mixed up with drugs, promiscuity, and a general defiance of accepted moral standards. In the popular mind, then, Zen has come to be regarded as at the best a noble way of shaking off the shackles of conventionality, and at the worst as a rather bad joke.

Both the books under review are at pains to destroy this false impression of what is in fact a most serious and reverent contemplative technique, and they do so in the most practical way: they describe in considerable detail the theory and above all the practice of Zen as it is to be found in Japan today. Both authors have been trained in the school of Harada Roshi, the grand old man of Zen Buddhism who died in 1961 at the ripe old age of ninety-nine and who succeeded in combining what is best in the two rival Zen sects—the Soto and the Rinzai (to which the late Professor Suzuki belonged). Mr. Kapleau started life as a journalist and is now dedicated in all seriousness to the practice and propagation of Zen. Hugo Enomiya is a Jesuit of German extraction (his original name was Lassalle) now naturalized Japanese.

Mr. Kapleau's book is divided into three sections: teaching, practice, enlightenment. The approach is, as might be expected from his antecedents, that of a journalist—a reporter; and therein lies its merit. His own contribution is minimal, for he confines himself in each of the sections to a short introduction which presents the protagonists, their lives, methods, and theoretical views so far as these are capable of being expressed at all. Mr. Kapleau effaces himself completely and his aim is to let his masters speak through him. This is something entirely new, admirable, and valuable in the English literature on Zen, and Mr. Kapleau is right to pour scorn on the armchair champions of Zen (Mr. Alan Watts is his particular target) for their relative ignorance of theory and their total disregard of the heart of Zen practice, the

Zen technique which involves strict physical and moral discipline. For Zen, like Yoga, is nothing if not practice—and practice according to a rule, and not only according to a rule, but according to a rule taught by one who has an "apostolic" authority in teaching the rule as handed down if not from the Buddha himself, then at least from the great chain of Zen patriarchs.

For Mr. Kapleau Zen is a schooling for the attainment of "enlightenment". It is most certainly a religion in the sense that it implies faith in at least three things: (i) that there is a state of being called *satori* ("enlightenment") which puts an end not only to all that tiresome "existential" anxiety which hitherto and smothered the contemporary ego but also to the ego itself as an autonomous unit and (ultimately) unreal centre of all anxiety and desire; (ii) that there is an infallible means of achieving this transcendent state—Zen, as handed down by the patriarchs; and (iii) that this means is guaranteed by the Buddha's own experience of enlightenment and by the practical course of spiritual exercises he had devised and transmitted through a chain of "apostles" who had become enlightened in their turn. To illustrate Zen practice Mr. Kapleau gives us samples of lectures, private interviews, and letters from Zen masters to their disciples, samples of what actually takes place during meditation and (most interesting of all) of the experience of enlightenment itself. For anyone seriously interested in Zen as a spiritual training and who has no access to an authentic Zen master (and these are rare enough in Japan itself) this book will be invaluable.

Fr. Enomiya covers a wider canvas. In the first part of his book ("Objective Darstellung des Zen") he covers much the same ground as Mr. Kapleau. Both men were reared in the same school (Soto as modified by Harada), and their accounts agree to a remarkable and gratifying extent. Fr. Enomiya, however, despite his Zen training and his quite extraordinary absorption of the spirit and ambience of Zen, is and remains a Jesuit schooled in earlier life in the perhaps even more rigorous training of the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignace. Hence, while Mr. Kapleau is indifferent to whether or not a "systematic, scholarly presentation" of Zen exists, Fr. Enomiya tries to fill precisely this lacuna. This forms the second part of his book, the "Darlegung der Hintergründe", which treats of the history of Buddhism

from right back to its founder and to its origin in Indian Yoga. Here the author seems to rely heavily on the excellent works of his fellow-Jesuit in Japan, Fr. Heinrich Dumoulin, whose *History of Zen Buddhism* covers much the same ground.

In the last section ("Konfrontation mit dem Christentum, besonders selbster Mysterium"), Fr. Enomiya compares and contrasts Zen with the orthodox Christian mystics. The resemblances are striking enough and the author is at pains to show that, in spite of the totally different cultural and religious backgrounds, Zen and Christian mysticism tend to converge. What he implies, though he does not explicitly say so, is that at their highest the Zen insight that "All is One" and the Christian ideas of "union with God" and the "spiritual marriage" are, if not identical, then so near as to make no difference. Only dogma separates them, the oneness experienced in *satori* must be the end, while the Christian maintains that this is only a step on the way to experience of the "personal and absolute God". For this latter assertion the author gives no convincing evidence. He is, it seems to be, forced back into a dogmatic position; and this is not surprising. For, as he himself says, if a Christian experiences *satori*, it will be a Christian *satori*, that is, a *satori* preconditioned by the dogmatic framework in which he has grown up. The trouble would seem to be that Zen and Christian mysticism stand at opposite ends of the mystical spectrum; the intervening shades are to be found principally in the Hindu tradition, and no comparative study of mysticism can make sense unless the evidence of that tradition is taken into account; for there is nowhere else (except perhaps in Teilhard de Chardin) is the conflict of monism, pantheism, and the mysticism of pure love most apparent.

The chapter in which Fr. Enomiya compares the Zen discipline with the Ignatian exercises is particularly interesting, though here as elsewhere many of the parallels he evokes are somewhat strained. After reading his book with great care one reader at least remains uncertain whether the author sees any real distinction between that mysticism which is natural to all of us and the mysticism which according to Catholic doctrine is a pure act of divine grace, but perhaps there is no answer to this question.

PERSONAL ORTHODOXY

C. S. Lewis: *Christian Reflections*. Edited by Walter Hooper. 176pp. Bles. 18s.

For the last thirty years of his life no other Christian writer in this country had such influence on the general reading public as C. S. Lewis. Each new book from his pen was awaited with an eagerness which showed that thousands of intelligent men and women had acquired a taste for his distinctive idiom and had come to rely on him as a source of moral and intellectual insight. And yet with the posthumous publication of this collection of essays and addresses what it was about the 1940s and 1950s which provided such a massively accepted public for his works. The very question reveals a hesitation, a slightly giddy questioning of the authority which he undoubtedly exercised.

Certainly it is not that he has changed. These papers are representative of almost the whole of Lewis's writing life; they are arranged chronologically from 1939 to 1963, and it is hard to detect any change of position between the first and the last, and that is no doubt a tribute to the tenacity with which he defended that orthodoxy which he had established for himself within five years of his conversion. He repudiates with vigour the modern myth that change is synonymous with progress in society; once established on the true foundation why should an individual change his opinions? This is perhaps the key to the uneasiness he might now provoke. It is possible to admire the definiteness with which his subjects are reduced to manageable

important but easily overlooked distinctions and then treating the dismembered parts to a ruthless moral analysis. Literature, culture, ethics, subjectivism, progress, historicism, each in turn comes under the scrutiny of a keenly critical mind and a conscience, unusually sensitive to the subtle corruptions of modern culture and society. But in the end there is not a hint of censoriousness, a suggestion that those who do not share his robust orthodoxy are morally suspect, and surely a hostility to science and scientists which is almost ludicrous? Many of the opinions and attitudes here attacked are those vividly embodied in the baddies of his imaginative fiction—stock figures like Weston the evil scientist in *Perelandra* or the liberal Bishop in *The Great Divorce* who preferred organizing seminars in Hell to living in Heaven.

Of course, as with everything Lewis wrote, these papers are enormously stimulating. Nowhere is he more at home than in the "Essay on the Psalmist". In this world of the poetry of passionate hatred and love Lewis's moral sensibility is most illuminating. He loves the dramatic chiaroscuro of tenderness and violence in the Hebrew relationship with God; the colours are laid on deep and bold and that is just his style. It is when he turns to our own society that our uneasiness returns. Lewis once wrote that the Devil's first task is to make us disbelieve in his existence; he himself never felt for that one. As he then, at least, felt that the Devil was

to distort the realities of our moral situation? Or are we right? Are we to think with him that the unbeliever is "ethically irresponsible"? Do we need to trample so firmly on human aspiration and inspiration that we must agree that the search for originality in literature is a subtle way of rejecting the Great Original? Can it really make any sense to say that the salvation of one single human soul is worth the loss of all the humanist epics and tragedies in the world? Certainly the statement seems to put culture firmly in its place, but the dilemma is totally unreal.

It is in the penultimate paper that the issue becomes most clear. Here Lewis is considering the literary problems of "biblical criticism", and he says: "The biblical scholars... He makes it quite plain that if the clergy accept and propagate this sort of liberal scepticism orthodox Christianity will fade and dissolve within a generation. His case is that their criteria for inclusion or exclusion of material from the Gospels are derived from philosophical and literary presuppositions which cannot be based upon the text itself, and that, therefore, as a literary critic, he is as good a judge of the material as they are, despite their massive learning. On what grounds can Bullmann say that miracles do not happen? He must have been listening to those scientists, Lewis may well be a better guide to the meaning of the Gospels than Bullmann, but the conservatism of

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THE MAKING OF A JESUIT

PHILIP CARANIAN: *C. C. Martin*. A Biography. 244pp. Longmans. £2 2s.

Philip Caranian is a distinguished historian of recusant life in Elizabethan England, so, predictably, his biography of Father Martin begins with genealogies. What they reveal is a family of small landowners, army officers and Indian civil servants; and the disproportionate attention to this net very interesting ancestry does at least establish the essential Englishness of a priest whose influence was to transcend the inherited categories of class and race. His mother died soon after his birth and his father was in India, so his upbringing was left to grandparents and aunts. Preparatory schools and Harrow did little to modify an isolation, one might even call it an alienation, that was never really resolved. His reception into the Roman Catholic Church at the age of eighteen in 1897 was certainly no idyllic entry into a life of light and joy. Many years later he was to describe how he had long thought that the Roman Church was a lie. "I can remember my feeling of downright seasickness when I began to perceive that the lie was truth."

Nunsey was never to be far from him. Certainly no man could ever have lived to the age of eighty-four with such a record of illness of the most debilitating kind. His biography is a catalogue of abrupt changes and crises brought on by accidents and operations and by a chronic weariness that seems unbelievable in the light of all that he achieved. His decision to become a Jesuit is an almost elusive illustration of that total abandonment to divine providence which he was so often to note in the saints whose lives he wrote. As revealed in this biography, his life in the Society of Jesus—at least in its formative stages—could hardly be described as comfortable. Even when he had left Oxford, covered with an array of academic distinctions which had hardly ever been paralleled, he was not to enjoy the start of scholarly career which could reasonably have been expected. He did indeed return to Oxford, after an interlude of schoolmastering, but the 1914 War had already broken out and, by a paradox that he was well qualified to discern, it was to prove the opportunity that he had been waiting for. Oxford was full of military hospitals, undergraduates were few, and so there began to be forged the pattern that was to mark the forty-five years that remained.

Cyril Martindale was able to bring to bear the resources of a fine intelligence to situations—or, more exactly, to persons in situations—that habitually are thought to be the concern of the "practical man". He never repudiated the values of scholarship—indeed they were inherent in the vast variety of books and articles he wrote and certainly in the sermons he preached—but he was not mesmerized by their importance. At Oxford he found large numbers of men, wounded, lonely, lost, who needed what he had to give: in Father Caranian's words, he became "the kind of priest he had always wanted to be, loved by simple people and of service to them". His personal difficulties, a certain co-existence of opposites within himself which he was fascinated to find in so many saints, were not wholly dissolved but they mellowed less. Above all he learnt what friendship means, and as he was to write much later, "life is a success if I've made some friends who value the fact of friendship as I do".

In 1925 Father Martindale moved to London and there then began fourteen years of frenetic activity: preaching, lecturing, writing, tabling all his lives of saints which revolutionized the hagiographic tradition, broadcasting, journeys to Europe, Africa, Australia, South America; a whole series of "curses" ranging from a settlement in Poplar to the establishment of university Catholic organizations, and from the Apostleship of the Sea for the spiritual welfare of seamen to retreats for Derbyshire miners. In the intervals, he was in constant demand at Farn Street: he instructed enquirers, converts, from ducks to stokers, and photographs of his friends gathered his about as evident proof of the extraordinary range of his influence and the constancy of his friendship. To say that he was the best-known Roman Catholic priest of his generation in England would be only a small part of the story. The "important" affairs are faithfully chronicled by Father Caranian: the Duke of Marlborough's marriage, the royal visitors in the parlour at Farn Street, the set-piece sermons and speeches. But what he really achieved can only be guessed at, though his diary and immense correspondence provide his biographer with some important evidence. No journey was without a further purpose: human needs were to be met everywhere, in the unlikely places, and Father Martindale

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SACRED AND SECULAR

CHARLES DAVIS: *God's Grace in History*. 96pp. Fontana (Collins). 5s.

In 1966 the Maurice Lectures were delivered for the first time by a Roman Catholic, a choice which would not doubt have surprised E. D. Maurice himself. However, he would certainly have approved the subject chosen by Charles Davis as no doubt he would have sympathized with the reasons which have since led him to leave the Roman Catholic Church. Not that there is any kind of those reasons in these lectures on "Secularization and the Mission of the Church". The subject is a complex one and of necessity can be given only very general treatment in the course of three lectures. The level of generality and abstraction at which Mr. Davis is speaking does not lend itself to the precision and detailed analysis which would make his readers feel that they had their feet on firm ground.

Mr. Davis suggests that the best distinction between the sacred and the secular is in terms of the knowledge. The sacred is not just the unknown; it is that aspect of our total environment which transcends our tools of analysis, not the problems or puzzles, but the mysteries of our experience. Secularization is then seen to be the widening not only of our knowledge but also of our conception of what can be known and controlled by man. In the past the sacred and the unknown were often identified; the present process of

secularization is to be welcomed because it enables us to see with greater clarity what the sacred really is. Indeed it may be that if Christianity is itself the motive force behind secularization and its inevitable concomitant, the postmodernist society. Only in an open society of that sort can the claim of faith be made on its own merits without the underpinning of any political or ecclesiastical power structures.

Mr. Davis wishes us to draw a distinction between the holy and the sacred, but the argument of this second lecture is not as clear as the first. The final lecture, however, follows directly from the first. The mission of the Church is to welcome the secularization of the west as the only possible way to free itself from compromising involvement in western political and cultural structures, in order to become a world Church, and not, as at present, an alien intruder in other lands. Only then can the Gospel act as a leaven in pluralist society, and only when it divests itself of its powers will the Church be able to point out to men the supernatural reality of God's grace at work in history enabling mankind to transcend the secular.

A stimulating conclusion, and perhaps after all one not likely to commend itself to the ecclesiastical establishment.

Father Caranian admits in his preface that he has been selective in the use of the material he had at his disposal and it was evidently considerable. It could hardly have been otherwise, for it would be impossible in a biography of this length to give any adequate account of a life of such prodigious activity. His purpose was to present the priest rather than the many enterprises in which he was involved. A biographer must have allowed his right to choose, and Father Caranian has provided a carefully organized account of Cyril Martindale's evolution as a Jesuit and a priest. If there is some hesitancy in interpreting crucial episodes—the circumstances of his decision to join the Society of Jesus and the difficulties he experienced with his superiors are hardly analysed—this marks a reluctance of which Father Martindale would have approved.

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WHEN ROME SNEEZES...

THE VERTIGINOUS AVALANCHE of the scientific revolution, in which we are now living, has brought with it a confluence of crisis in nearly every aspect of our lives. For at least fifty years anguish and apprehension have been the common theme of our best writers, from D. H. Lawrence to T. S. Eliot, and from Simone Weil to Jean-Paul Sartre. Our most notable world-historian, Arnold Toynbee, has written a book called *Civilization on Trial*. The western technical mind has breached all other civilizations, and precisely at a moment when we are abandoning "colonial" ambitions, "they"—the non-westerners—(and by a force far stronger than the old imperialism) are being forced to think and act like "us". Marxist dogma seems to be the form under which western technological materialism is absorbing the Chinese. But Marxist dogma is finding it hard to resist new strains in Russia, where the young are pressing against the old.

In this situation it is hardly surprising that the world religions should be in crisis. In India the outcome of the struggle between tradition and the population explosion could conceivably decide the destiny of our race on the planet. The Muslims have been finding it harder and harder to associate their ritualistic practices with the demands of the petrol engine. Prescinding from any value-judgment, for long Christianity has seemed in the strongest position for, although divided, Christianity was the largest in numbers, they were entrenched in the dominant civilization and seemed most capable of subsuming the technological avalanche. And most powerful among the Christians was the unchangeable Church of Rome. Many even in our agnostic minority in the west somehow look for granted that the Papacy would bury everyone—Kings, Presidents and Party Secretaries. The imperturbable superiority-complex of the Roman system suggested that it would be the last stronghold to resist the modern crisis. This is no longer so. As one spokesman put it: "When Rome sneezes, the Christian world catches influenza." Now Rome itself seems to have influenza, and the changes afoot could be interpreted, according to one's views, as the collapse of the perennial system or the birth-pangs of the old Phoenix.

Despite the influence of Baron von Hügel, Great Britain played only a small part in the controversies that lay behind Vatican II, and the United States only began to exercise its influence during the Council itself—earlier its weight at the Vatican had been almost exclusively financial. But these controversies have wracked the French countries, the German countries, and the Dutch and Flemish since the nineteenth century. On the Continent the struggle took place on various planes. There was the social question over which, despite several Papal encyclicals or declarations which could be interpreted in various ways, the iron fist of Rome by and large came down against the reformers and idealists; or, as some said, on the side of the landowners and the prosperous industrial classes. Intolerable as this might seem, it was in a sense secondary. For in practice nothing prevented men with a will to myopical poverty from finding a way through the meshes of bureaucratic opposition. Vast charitable organizations flourished, and their founders could console themselves with thinking that many people, later canonized by Rome, had suffered every sort of opposition at first. For all that, movements from Saganer's "Le Sillon" to that of the worker-priests were condemned.

More crucial in essence was the "modernist" controversy which arose with the new biblical criticism which, for some, struck at the whole foundation of Rome. What could be said if documents taken literally, in the old fundamentalist Roman sense, were not historical as we know his-

tory, or even written by the men whose names they bore? Rome, to the shock of the Protestant world, faced the issue with a whole series of condemnations and virtually obliterated the study of modern authors. The crucial documents were the Papal decree *Luminantibus* and the encyclical *Paschendi* of 1907, and the *nostra* people known as *Sacrorum Antidatum* which imposed the uniformist oath on all clerics. Pope Pius X denounced "modernism" as "the synthesis of all heresies". A whole series of departures and excommunications followed, and the subject was buried until our time. Moreover, in one way or another, many men who were in no way involved in "modernism" or who were attempting to restate the Roman *Weltanschauung* to meet the modern condition—such as Blondel (philosophy) or, better-known example, Teilhard de Chardin (science)—lived under an official frown. Neo-Thomism (Maritain's own philosophy) was the "official" teaching for priests.

Theological defections from Rome, mostly among clergymen, were in some way compensated for by "converts" among laymen—most of them literary. M. Maritain, who is now more than eighty and a grand old man, played a crucial part. A convert from anarchism to Catholicism under the influence of Léon Bloy, an associate of the Péguy family, a leader of the Neo-Thomist movement, he had things "all his way" until the Second World War (which he spent across the Atlantic as a leading "intellectual" of the French resistance). Maritain is a classic example of how difficult it is to use the words "conservative" or "progressive" about theologically-minded men. For if his neo-Thomism seemed "reactionary" to explorers such as Maurice Blondel, Auguste Valensin and others (who dreaded Maritain's attacks second only to attacks from Rome), Maritain was "progressive" and a "left-winger" in social matters, and before all else a defender of the Jews. To these qualities he added an almost infallible intuition for the nris, a thing the Holy Ghost (or chance) distributes sparingly. (No such intuition, for instance, was given to Teilhard de Chardin.)

After the war, thinking moved away from neo-Thomism in France, and with the mood in which Vatican II assembled it might have been thought that Maritain's life-work had been destroyed. It is questionable whether Maritain was even quite at home in France after 1945, any more than at the Vatican, where he was French ambassador. The dominant mood in his country was Existentialist, and this Existentialism was the atheist version of Jean-Paul Sartre rather than the Christian Existentialist tradition from Kierkegaard to Gabriel Marcel. The new masters of thought had no inclination to listen to neo-Thomism under any form. Maritain's admirers had grown older, if they had not, collied were boiling with indignation about the state of the working classes, or involved in a dialogue with the communists. They had even less time for art than for neo-Thomist syntheses. They wanted the Mass made "available" to the people, not in Latin but in the language of the newspapers. Perhaps they did not always realize that a bigger problem is presented by the statements in which they are expressed. As regards theology, under John XXIII men who had been long silenced were permitted to emerge and teach.

It is with this background that we must read Maritain's 400 pages of polemic against some of what he feels are dangerous outcomes of the Second Vatican Council. He begins, as one would expect, with a declaration of loyalty to the Papacy and the Council in themselves. But he hurds himself into his polemic as soon as the third paragraph.

My God, were these dogmas not defined once and for all? For the new dog-

mas explicit and complete, they in no way change them. What man who has received theological [theological] faith could be idiot enough to suppose that eternal certainties were going to move, to tip up down, and question marks for themselves, hurled at the flow of time? But no one needs to look far if he wants to wonder at human folly.

What is this folly to which Maritain can devote a long book? It is certainly not the new dialogue with people of other Christian convictions or other faiths or non-faiths now encouraged among Roman priests; for Maritain, like most educated Catholic laymen, has been accustomed to discussion with others all his life. It is not even that and foremost (though this is a powerful motive force for Maritain) and is never far from the foreground) the indifference to the distinctions of neo-Thomism and to Thomism itself. It is the emergence over a period of some five years of what our author calls "neo-modernism".

Several years ago Maritain's contemporary, François Mauriac, noted with some bewilderment that in his young day "modernism" had been condemned, whereas today it seemed the prevailing mood of Chorchoven. He wanted to know "what Maritain thought".

In France, as in other European countries, not to mention the United States, books by new theologians—Roman clergymen and clerical lay-people—have been pouring from the presses as never before. World publicity has occupied itself with these questions and built up a whole list of celebrities as with actors and actresses. These people have conflicting views and often, as Maritain would say, their views conflict with Catholic teaching: even raising the question, still a little ahead, of what, if anything, are the essential doctrines of the Roman Church.

But we must return for a moment to the Second Vatican Council. The Catholic bishops of the world were summoned to Rome by Pope John XXIII. Bishops are not normally versed in the wiles of theologians and, in help them in this new work, they took with them "experts" who the Latin word is *periti*—to stand at their elbows. These *periti* rapidly rose to stardom in clerical circles. Some were clearly, some were distinguished, but all alike became the new men of the Roman Catholic Church. Substantial changes in such matters as the Roman liturgy, though theoretically carried out in accord with the faithful, were in fact the work of a very small international pressive group operating in Rome itself. It is worth putting on record that John XXIII, himself a Latinist, was quoted as viewing the theologians with some dismay.

"Neo-modernism" in Maritain's sense has nothing to do with biblical scholarship. Rather the reverse. Our author would do it in terms of the innumerable questions now being raised by clergymen about the traditional dogmas of the Roman Catholic Church. If one stone is removed from the building, what will remain? What about infallibility or Mariolatry? What critical-historical evidence have we for the Virgin birth? A step further and might not the priests be asking the same question about the Resurrection? There is something a little Byzantine about the innumerable *circus* arguments that have broken out among the Roman clergy, and there are times when one feels the lack of an Erasmus or a Voltaire. Perhaps Maritain's point of view could be put in short. If we said that were he English, his unfavourable theologians would include Canon Collins and the Bishop of Woolwich.

As it is, there is an undertone in Maritain's polemic which is specifically French. The subtitle of his book is relevant. The word *laïc* is surely charged with more than a nuance of that anti-clericalism which, in much of Europe, is to be found among believers and unbelievers alike. Maritain is not a pupil of Léon Bloy for nothing. Bloy, one feels, might have added to the castigation of neop-

write. Apart from the third volume of this work, on *The Universal Church*, appears, it will fall short of what most readers would expect either from its subtitle "A Study of Christianity" or from its author's reputation. The three volumes may indeed turn out to be a part only of a plan for a yet larger work, since on the reverse of the front page they are subsumed under the heading of "The Macrocosmology of Religion".

Unfortunatly, the three volumes may be too narrow, its macrocosmology (concerned with the outer life of religious communities), its microcosmology (their inner life), and its sociology (the wider meaning of the term, extended to its influence on non-vital phenomena) could view Teilhard and his "theology-fiction", some of the "theology-fiction" of Teilhard may be too narrow, its macrocosmology (concerned with the outer life of religious communities), its microcosmology (their inner life), and its sociology (the wider meaning of the term, extended to its influence on non-vital phenomena) could view Teilhard and his "theology-fiction", some of the "theology-fiction" of Teilhard may be too narrow, its macrocosmology (concerned with the outer life of religious communities), its microcosmology (their inner life), and its sociology (the wider meaning of the term, extended to its influence on non-vital phenomena) could view Teilhard and his "theology-fiction", some of the "theology-fiction" of 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